/837 cont./

X881 252 At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makalíku kípa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply kípa ékérˇ, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

X881 252 244 If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

γ. Guard Duty

X881 ● 625 Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

/838 cont./
activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkē·a. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. As a headdress the winefkē·a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yékamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxēl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

The particular duty of the winefkē·a is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./

X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiexaus hut. Moreover, the winefkēʷa has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiexaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkēʷa. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uswaala are sitting in the čiexaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkēʷa. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./
881 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening
625 of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxḗl, but they
302 are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkḗʒa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

881 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity
625 depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uš̌wā́ala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkḗʒa himself should never be too far away from it.

881 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after
625 the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use
283 a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and 12 to 15 meters long. This ū́keša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

881 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart
625 in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this ū́keša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uš̌wā́ala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

/841 cont./
X881 leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs,
625 and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alāin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkéxa, have a definite call,
[198] familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

X881 The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiéxaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

X881 In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates
861 takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/930 cont./

X881 533 535 152

amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 533

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkeča, has a special position in the čiexaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiexaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkeča whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means Leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

X881
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/930 cont./
the lower part of the nose were painted red; the wreath of feathers was placed on his head in such a way that the feathers pointed downward. He cried in a loud voice so that the women in the cookhut especially could hear it: "I come here from the high seas! I expect to stay only a short time!" A reply came from the cookhut: "awaj (348)!"

348. This word means assent, such as: "Good!"; "So be it!"; "We heard it!"

/931/ Thoughtfully and with measured step the wineflá-a walked back and forth in the Great Hut. Suddenly his voice was heard: "Attention, now!" The answer from across the way was again: "awáj!" Immediately he continued: "To me the people in this hut seem dreadful! I don't know any of these people here, for I have just come from the high seas. That is why I am overcome with great fear, because I am alone here among the people [unfamiliar to me]. However, this hut is very beautiful!" After a brief pause the customary "awáj" followed.

Robert continued: "I come from a place where there is a great deal of snow and ice (349). It is a bad [unpleasant] place

349. He is referring to the extreme south where there are mighty icebergs floating around.

from whence I come. What kind of folk may this be among whom I have landed? I see two strangers here [Gusinde and Koppers]. I shall devour them! But at the moment I am full and satisfied; a little later I shall devour these two. If I should leave something, you out there [the women in the cookhut] will have some of it, too. -- The people here are very bad and evil; I don't know them, but I am very much afraid of them."

A pre-arranged interruption followed. Two women brought a can of coffee from the cookhut and immediately began pouring it out. The first three or four persons at the secondary exit let their cups be filled and realized with the first swallow that by mistake sea water instead of fresh water had been used for this coffee. They spit out this swallow, amid facial contortions,

/931 cont./
which many of the others observed. Richard noticed it, too, and cried loudly: "As far as food and drink are concerned, we here are not satisfied with it!" This time there was no answer from the cookhut.

After a brief pause he continued: "It seems to me that something bad will soon happen to these people here! My intention was to seize them all, but I caught only their feathers (350). --

350. We must imagine the situation. He believes himself to be a bird who, as such, attacks other birds and in the fight pulls out their feathers; he regards the people in the Great Hut as birds.

I shall prove to them that I am a crafty bird; I'll duck and crouch against the ground, I'll play stupid. Thus [in this position] I shall come on one, grab him, and take him away with me!" Immediately he pounced on old Pedro who was squatting nearest him on the ground. He seized him with both hands and pulled him upright. At the same time he yelled: "I've already caught one, this one I shall devour! One is enough for me. -- But no, I shall not devour him yet, because I am still full and satisfied. I shall save him for later! Those two strangers who are sitting there I shall also save for the end!" The women plaintively responded from outside: "Alas!"

Resolutely Richard seized an uwáala and cried: "Here I have grabbed a fledgling [a young bird, an allusion to the youthful age of the /932/ candidate]. I shall also lay him aside for myself, and shall soon eat him. Now I am still full and satisfied. But after a while it will be his turn!" Frightened, the women cried: "swíi!"

After a brief pause: "Poor folk here, I am truly compassionate! -- I am not in a hurry to leave, I should like to stay in this place for a short time. -- I almost seized them all [these people] and lifted them into the air with me!" From the cookhut the "swíi" was repeatedly heard between his utterances.

Through the main entrance Richard called to the outsiders, telling them what is now going on in the čiexaus hut; he told

/932 cont./

X881 ●625 the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with [535] hambá, hambá, hambá (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cookhut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awái." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

/932 cont./
me here!" Response: "Yes, we like you!" He: "Good, if that is true, I shall stay here longer and tell you about everything that goes on here." From outside: "We shall enjoy that." The winefkéla: "I feel like eating something." Response: "That is good." He: "Well, now these two here (353) are very gentle

353. He is referring quite generally to two persons in the Great Hut.

and quiet, just right to eat!" Meanwhile one of the kitchen women came in and passed around something to drink. Very softly /933/ the general singing continued; most of the people present were resting. All squatted motionlessly in their places, with downcast eyes.

After 20 minutes Chris took up the singing again. The guard walked hastily through the Great Hut and repeatedly cried: "húi, húi!" The group remained in their places in deep concentration and did not even glance up. Loudly the winefkéla cried: "The singing is beginning anew!" Response: "awáj, awáj!" He: "The people like me very much. -- I do feel like eating those two, but I'll wait and devour them later." The kitchen women repeated their cry.

The leader sent the uǐwíala out to fetch firewood, and soon they returned. The group singing continued. Richard cried out: "What goes on here is very solemn!" Response: "awáj!" After a time the candidates were summoned and arranged themselves in a row, while an experienced woman immediately began to lead them in the dance. The uǐwíala moved awkwardly and clumsily because they lacked practice. After moving back and forth repeatedly, the line broke up. Again they were sent out for wood. The guard cried out: "Now, you women, be very careful because the uǐwíala have gone out [of this čiéxaus hut]. Restrain yourselves and do not look at them!" Meanwhile the candidates left the room.

Again the winefkéla began speaking: "Now I am going to change my feathers. I am plucking out the old ones so that the new ones will grow better." Response: "awáj!" Anyone now leaving the čiéxaus hut is carefully observed to make sure that the

/933 cont./
kitchen women do not go up to the candidates or speak to them. "It seems to me that the people here are very courageous at the moment! -- There is foul air here in this hut; that is not good for the inmates. I wouldn't care to sleep here, just because of the bad air. I am used to the fresh, pure air of the high seas. -- The air in this hut is very foul." The "awái" followed at intervals. "Take care, you out there!" Then the candidates came in with the wood they had gathered. "I am keeping my eyes open and closely watching all the people here. -- Presently I shall stand on top of the hut. From there I can survey everything!" Meanwhile, with the wood they have gathered and led by the man who accompanied them, the ulúala danced through the Great Hut several times; then they put the wood down beside the secondary entrance and went to their places. The group singing concluded with a loud hóhohohohó to which the guard added a strong wéa.

After a few minutes the winefkéla spoke again: "I notice that you [women] are looking at the ulúala there!" He said this only to intimidate the women, hence the answer: "No, that is not true." He: "Lively action is beginning again here!" Two girls had been chopping wood outside and brought it in. They went dancing through the Great Hut with a little bundle. Old Clara joined them and said: "I become very sad when I see these ulúala. They, too, are in a bad state of mind, because they have had to work a lot today." Meanwhile the dance /934/continued. Peine spoke very animatedly: "Those two [Halakwulup] women came from a region where they even devour people. Why don't they demonstrate for us? We Yamana are not acquainted with such evil customs, but we'd like to have a look at something like that!" She became furious: "Why don't my countrymen get up and join my dancing? This Halakwulup woman is the only one dancing with me (354), and my own countrymen watch me dancing alone!"

354. The older Halakwulup woman, named Rosa, had meanwhile resumed her seat, so that only Julia, the other Halakwulup, continued dancing.

After some time their hóhohohohó was heard, and both women

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/934 cont./
squatted down in their places.

Then the guard spoke: "They [these people] almost caught me, but I escaped by climbing up on the hut outside!" Response: "awáj!" After a long pause: "I am still staying in this hut. -- Everyone assembled here feels happy. -- I am looking at all of them. It is to be hoped that they will all, without exception, continue to be happy!" Low singing continued until the winéhkəna cried: "I am still here. I hear everything that is said here. -- Pay attention to everything that is about to happen!"

Old Peine stood up and danced very animatedly. Meanwhile her hapaxéi slipped down a bit and covered her eyes. She said: "The fog almost covered me so that I would have been unable to see my country any longer!" Then came the loud hóhohohohó of all those present.

Again the guard began: "Soon I am going off, for it is the hour of dawn. Perhaps another will come here who looks at everything and watches over it." The singing continued. "Yes, it is time for me to go. Soon now I shall leave this hut." The sound of awáj rang out loudly.

Suddenly cries of loud hŋ́ŋóx were heard amidst the general singing. They announced to the kitchen women that in a short time a delegation would come to them to get food. Two men hurried over; they returned immediately with coffee and a large loaf of bread. While those present were being served, the winehkəna acted conspicuously uneasy. Then he took the long leather strap, tkyéa, which hung on the framework. Most of the adults stood up and likewise grasped this strap.

In a long row, they moved briskly back and forth through the interior of the hut. The guard shouted: "All you outside there, take care!" Response: "awáj, awáj!" This dance soon ended, and the long leather strap was again fastened to the hut framework (388). The guard cried: "I am afraid of these people here,

388. It is well known that the guards take the long leather strap down from the wall of the hut when danger threatens from those outside or when a candidate has escaped.

/934 cont./

I have been frightened by them!" Response: "awá!" Until now Chris in particular had led the general singing. He finished with the words: "Now I should like to stop because I am tired." /935/ The singing went on, and after about 20 minutes he, too, joined in again. Meanwhile some of the people had quickly eaten, and afterward Chris also took a few bites. Richard in the meantime had gone back to his place and was no longer impersonating wineshéwa.

After an hour and a half old Thomas assumed this role. He painted himself and placed the feather crown around his temples, stationed himself inside the main entrance, and cried loudly: "What are you up to here? I am here now. The other one [wineshéwa] sent me and told me I must carefully watch over you! -- I am quite full and satisfied. The little bones of the many birds and fish that I consumed on the high seas are heavy in my stomach. -- Be on your guard now!" Response: "awá!" The singing became more animated.

Thomas: "I came here very quickly. I did not even have time on the way to devour the bird that I had just caught. My beak is completely covered with fresh blood. That is how fast I flew here." Response: "awá!" Then he rubbed a thick layer of ími on his hands. "My feet and claws are dripping with blood. I had no time on the way to devour my booty, for I came here without delay. The other wineshéwa sent me to you posthaste!" Response: "awá!"

Meanwhile preparations began to receive the visiting outsiders into the Great Hut. The wineshéwa continued: "I came here to have a look at these people. What I observe I shall call over to you [over there in the cookhut], so that you will know what goes on here. -- I discovered two strangers [Gusinde and Koppers] here whom I have never seen in my life. The other wineshéwa told me nothing about them. I am beginning to feel an urge to thrust my claws into them as swiftly as before when I seized that other bird. I have a desire to seize them at once!" A repeated "awá!" followed. After a short pause filled with singing, he continued: "For the moment I am holding back. I shall not yet devour those two, for my stomach is quite full!"

The visitors came to the [illegible] hut and left again. Immediately Thomas began: "The people here stepped on my toes,

/935 cont./
X 881 625
that hurts me. I arrived quite stuffed, that is why I could not move fast enough!" Response: "awáj!" He: "Now I shall wait until I feel a little more relieved, for my stomach is still quite full. -- There is nothing to eat here. In the place where I live there are many birds that serve as food for me."

X 881 625 533
Then he started a song. While he continued the melody, he said: "I am a good bird, I don't hurt anyone. -- I am very happy to see my mother here. -- Up to now I have only let myself be looked at here. -- Those two I should like to take along to the high seas and devour them in peace!" The brief pauses were filled with "awáj." The winefkéʷa: "I prefer to stay here for the present. /936/ My hearing is good; I want to communicate to you [out there] everything that goes on here. I have been sent here, therefore I shall be just as attentive as in that place where I usually am." Continuing to sing, he interrupted himself: "I am very satisfied with these people here, wéa!" Soon after that: "You wish to be in my place! You would like to see everything that I am observing, wouldn't you. -- Now I shall rest a little. Meanwhile I shall pluck out my feathers in order to relieve myself somewhat. -- Since I have plucked out a few of my feathers, I feel better. Really, I have become lighter!"

Old Pedro began to sing loudly. While doing so, he said: "Yetšúa gave me a kick and stimulated me to sing!" During Pedro's song Thomas cried: "A high mountain of waves is arising. I am frightened by these mighty waves!" Soon after the general singing ended with a loud hõhohohohõ, and the winefkéʷa croaked a loud "héx." Pedro began to sob and weep. Thomas continued: "I feel very calm, hence I shall get ready to go to sleep. I shall stick my head under one wing and then go to sleep!" Response: "awáj!" He: "The people here are moving, that excites me. I was always a good winefkéʷa."

Three old women with beautifully painted torsos stood up; they danced back and forth through the Great Hut. Thomas: "Again high waves are piling up. -- I am listening to what is being said here." Response: "awáj." Greatly stimulated, many people danced and poked around in the fire to make the sparks fly. Their loud singing subsided, and Thomas continued: "Do you, too, wish to lie down to sleep?" Response: "Yes, we should

/936 cont./

like to do that!" He: "Certainly, it pleases you that I tell you everything!" Enthusiastic "awá." He: "Good, I shall stay here for some time yet, until my stomach is empty. Afterward I shall fly back to the high seas." After a loud awá and general singing again, Thomas interjected: "Now I feel relieved, cheerful, and fresh!"

The people in the one row held their heads up and their hands up to their eyebrows, as though they were looking into the distance over the heads of the people seated in the opposite row. This was a challenge to a singing competition, in order to stimulate the other row. The winefield-s cried: "Again high waves are rising!" After the awá from outside, Walter said: "We began this ceremony so that those two Whites could see it. For ourselves we usually celebrate it at another time of year." He continued, very perturbed: "I am the Yetíya of this Great Hut (356).

356. He wants to say that rage is seething within him just as in that malevolent earth spirit.

-- Of all my kinsfolk and of all of us who once lived in the east (357), I am the only one still alive. Although I still have my

357. Walter comes from Lennox Island, northeast of Navarino Island.

home district [as native country], nevertheless it no longer belongs to me and has now become /937/ another region (358). Of my

358. This island which politically now belongs to Chile has for a long time been leased to farmers for sheep-raising. Therefore Chile arbitrarily keeps the natives away from the Europeans settled there.

kinsfolk and my [prior] native country only the waves are left to me. When I die, the waves will cover me, too; then there will be no one left of the people of the east!" Several persons, moved by sorrow, interrupted him. Walter continued: "I am very much

[Actually, southeast. — Analyst]

/937 cont./

relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the [illegible]!" Animated talk by the others.

Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westerners [the Halakwulup]." The winefi'wa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awé'!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awé'!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a unknown melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "Hm." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awé'." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awé'."

Suddenly all the ufu'ale stood up, arousing all the adults. The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "Those Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Nelly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Punta Remolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two short rows. From the center of the hut one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

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faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilio seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

Again the winefiller called over to the kitchen women: "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "ewé." The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "ewé." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The winefiller was not heard from again.

On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around eight o'clock. All the inmates of the village but immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the ulele, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the ulele finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other.

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a winefiller and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "ewé, we heard it!" He means

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really make a great effort to instruct our candidates carefully, for our old laws and customs are good. Every Yamana, old and young, must adapt himself to them. I am very sad, for I see some of our younger people who neither know nor follow our habits of former times!"

After a few minutes the wineshéwa called one last time: "Control your eyes and do not look at the Great Hut. I shall soon go away from here." At this moment the uŵšala returned.

In conclusion the particular duty of the guard should be remembered. He must keep intruders away from the ʔišáxan hut and see to it that inquisitive glances do not discover anything that goes on there. In order to demonstrate his watchfulness to outsiders, he repeatedly steps in front of the main entrance and a few paces away from it. He also climbs up on the hut framework where he can be seen still more plainly. Finally, he makes himself noticeable by repeated calls. Everyone is afraid of the wineshéwa and no one dares to desecrate the sanctity of the ʔišáxan hut.

6. Social Games. In the course of time the daily program in the ʔišáxan hut leads to weariness, not only for the candidates, but also for the adults. Quite generally the participants are very punctilious about their duties, and individuals among them are even over-zealous, which is not surprising among good-humored children of nature. Even experienced nerves would be unable to stand too great a strain for any length of time if there were absolutely no relaxation at certain intervals. That is precisely the deeper significance of the custom of occasionally having social games interspersed through the serious ʔišáxan celebration. To a superficial observer this custom seems strange and irreconcilable with the strictness of the prevailing order of the day, but the decisive factor is the psychological need of the participants for /940/ occasional refreshment by means of a game, which never deteriorates into boisterousness or licentiousness since it is restrained by certain guide lines.

Inasmuch as everyone present at the initiation is pledged more or less equally to silence and quiet behavior and to all kinds of exertions and discomforts, participation in the social games is, without exception, open to all, and of course also to the uŵšala.